

Message Text

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SUBJECT: EUROPEAN MOVEMENT HOLDS " CONGRESS OF EUROPE"

1. SUMMARY: THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT HELD A THREE DAY CONGRESS OF EUROPE IN BRUSSELS FEBRUARY 5-7 AIMED AT MOBILIZING PUBLIC INTEREST AND DISCUSSION OF THE TINDEMANS REPORT. KEY NOTE SPEAKER OF THE CONGRESS WAS THE BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF; HE WAS FOLLOWED TO THE ROSTRUM BY EC COMMISSION PRESIDENT ORTOLI AND A LONG ARRAY OF SPEAKERS, MANY OF WHOM WERE INVITED IN THEIR CAPACITY AS HEADS OF POLITICAL PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. THE GLOSSIEST REPRESENTATION CAME FROM THE FRG (BRANDT AND KOHL) ALTHOUGH FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY CHIEF MITTERAND AND ITALIAN PCI DEPUTY NILDE JOTTI, REPRESENTING PARTY SECRETARY BERLINGUER, ATTRACTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION. ALTHOUGH THE TINDEMANS REPORT AS A WHOLE WAS SUPPOSED TO BE THE FOCUS OF THE CONGRESS, DISCUSSION TENDED TO CONCENTRATE ON TWO ISSUES: DIRECT ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT (ALL IN FAVOR) AND THE "TWO-TIER" EUROPE CONCEPT (ALL AGAINST). AT THE END OF THE CONGRESS, A DECLARATION WAS ADOPTED URGING ESTABLISHMENT OF A TIME-TABLE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF TINDEMANS' PROPOSALS. END SUMMARY.

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MENTATION OF TINDEMANS' PROPOSALS. END SUMMARY.

2. IN HIS OPENING SPEECH, BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER TINDEMANS REPHRASED (ALTHOUGH HARDLY CHANGED THE SUBSTANCE OF) THE PASSAGES IN HIS REPORT WHICH WERE READ BY MANY AS ADVOCACY OF A "TWO-TIER" COMMUNITY. TINDEMANS POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD PROPOSED ENDING THE CLEAVAGE BETWEEN EC MEMBER STATES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE "SNAKE" BY MAKING THE "SNAKE" A COMMUNITY "ANIMAL." " FAR FROM WANTING TO SHARPEN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO MEMBER CATEGORIES WITHIN THE EC , I WANTED TO ELIMINATE THEM." IN VIEW OF THE OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE OF GIVING SOME SUBSTANCE TO ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION, TINDEMANS STRESSED THAT HIS APPROACH WAS DESIGNED TO RECONCILE THE NEED TO MAKE JOINT COMMUNITY COMMITMENTS AND FRANKLY RECOGNIZE THAT IMPLEMENTATION WOULD SOMETIMES HAVE TO VARY AMONG THE MEMBER STATES. THUS DECISIONS ON THE SNAKE, AS WELL AS COMMITMENTS ON INTERNAL MONETARY POLICY, BUDGETARY POLICY, AND KEY COMPONENTS OF ECONOMIC POLICY, WOULD BE JOINT, ALTHOUGH IMPLEMENTATION COULD, IF THE COMMISSION AND COUNCIL AGREED THAT THE GROUNDS WERE VALID, BE "STAGGERED FOR A LIMITED TIME," WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF AID AND ASSISTANCE TO HELP THOSE WHO CANNOT TEMPORARILY "FULLY DISCHARGE THEIR COMMITMENTS." "THUS THERE IS NO QUESTION OF CREATING A TWO-LINE EUROPE, GENERATING TWO CATEGORIES OF MEMBERS," TINDEMANS CONCLUDED, STRESSING THAT HIS PROPOSALS GO IN PRECISELY THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION OF STRENGTHENING THE COMMUNITY ON ALL SIDES.

3. MANY OF THE SUCCEEDING SPEAKERS EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR TINDEMANS' "CLARIFICATION," BUT STILL WENT ON TO CONDEMN THE TWO-TIER CONCEPT AT LENGTH. IN HIS SPEECH, SPD CHAIRMAN BRANDT, WHO ORIGINATED THE TWO-TIER PROPOSAL, MADE A ONE SENTENCE REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT "REALISTIC DIFFERENTIATIONS, WHEN BASED ON SOLIDARITY, CAN CONTRIBUTE TOWARD A COMMON ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY." COMMISSION PRESIDENT ORTOLI REITERATED HIS PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO A TWO-TIER EUROPE, BUT THEN PROCEEDED TO AGREE SUBSTANTIALLY WITH TINDEMANS THAT " PROVISION COULD BE MADE FOR VARYING IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMON POLICIES IF THE AIM IS TO EVENTUALLY ELIMINATE GAPS AND NOT AGGRAVATE THEM."

4. MOST SPEAKERS PLACED STRONG EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FOR EUROPE'S FUTURE OF THE DIRECT ELECTION OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. NONE DID THIS MORE STRIKINGLY HOWEVER THAT SPD CHAIRMAN WILLY BRANDT, WHOSE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HE WOULD STAND AS A CANDIDATE IN 1978 ("ALTHOUGH NOT REMOVING HIMSELF FROM POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN GERMANY") BROUGHT THE CONGRESS TO LIFE. BRANDT SAID HE HOPED OTHER POLITICAL LEADERS WOULD EMULATE HIS EXAMPLE AND HELP MAKE THE PARLIAMENT THE "VOICE OF EUROPE" AS WELL AS THE "CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

OF EUROPE." MANY OTHERS ECHOED BRANDT'S CALL FOR MORE
AUTHORITY AND COMPETENCES FOR THE PARLIAMENT.

5. MITTERAND'S SPEECH WAS NOTABLE FOR ITS EXPRESSION
OF THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS' APPROVAL OF DIRECT ELECTIONS, AS
WELL AS HIS STATEMENT THAT THERE IS "AN OBJECTIVE CONFLICT
BETWEEN EUROPEAN CONSTRUCTION AND THE INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM
OF THE MULTINATIONALS." MORE SUCCINCT WAS A VIGOROUS SPEECH
BY ITALIAN PCI DEPUTY, NILDE IOTTA, WHO BEGAN BY NOTING THAT
THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT SUCH A GATHERING HAD BEEN
ADDRESSED BY A COMMUNIST. SHE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE PCI
SUPPORTED THE UNITY OF AN "AUTONOMOUS AND INDEPENDENT EUROPE,"
BUT NOT A EUROPE DIVIDED BETWEEN THE RICH AND POOR (ANOTHER
ALLUSION TO THE TWO-TIERS), NOR A EUROPE PURSUING A DEFENSE
POLICY (SINCE NEITHER THE SOVIETS NOR THE U.S. WOULD
PERMIT A "NEW AUTONOMOUS MILITARY POWER").

6. AT ITS CONCLUSION, THE CONGRESS ADOPTED A DECLARATION
WHICH CALLED FOR CONSOLIDATION AND SHARPENING OF TINDEMANS'
PROPOSALS BY ADOPTING "NECESSARY TIMETABLES." IN 1976, FOR
INSTANCE, THE DECLARATION ADVOCATED IMPLEMENTATION OF
TINDEMANS' RECOMMENDATIONS ON FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE
(INCLUDING STANDARDIZATION OF ARMS PRODUCTION), STEPS TOWARD
ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION ("THE PRINCIPLE OF EUROPE AT
TWO-SPEEDS MUST BE EMPHATICALLY REJECTED"), MAJORITY EC
COUNCIL VOTING, DESIGNATION OF COMMISSIONERS AND
STRENGTHENING THE COMPETENCE OF THE PARLIAMENT. IN CONCLUSION,
THE MOVEMENT IS CALLED UPON TO START AN EXTENSIVE CIVIL
CAMPAIGN TO MAKE THE EUROPEAN ELECTORATE AWARE OF THE "COM-
MUNITY PROPOSITIONS BY MANY OF ITS CRUCIAL PROBLEMS," AND
THE NEED TO GET OUT THE VOTE FOR THE 1978 ELECTIONS.
COMMENT: THE CONGRESS WAS ALMOST DEVOID OF "EUROPEAN" FIRE
AND BRIMSTONE. NOTABLE EXCEPTION WAS EC COMMISSIONER SPINELLI
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WHO DESCRIBED THE TINDEMANS REPORT AS A "WASTED OPPORTUNITY"
FOR EUROPE, SINCE ITS PROPOSALS ONLY DRESSED UP THE EXISTING
SITUATION AND REFUSED TO STATE WHAT EUROPEAN UNION IS. THIS
WAS IN FACT A DISTINCT FEATURE OF THE CONGRESS: NO ONE SPOKE
IN IDEALISTIC TERMS OF THE FINALITIES OF A FUTURE EUROPEAN
GOVERNMENT; THE FOCUS, LIKE THE TINDEMANS REPORT ITSELF, WAS
ON PRACTICAL MEASURES FOR THE PRESENT. WHETHER ON THIS BASIS
THE EUROPEAN MOVEMENT CAN SUCCEED IN GENERATING POPULAR
ENTHUSIASM AND PRESSURES REMAINS VERY MUCH TO BE SEEN. MORRIS

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